

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-08

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 DHA-02 PM-03 ACDA-10 NSC-05
NSCE-00 INR-05 CIAE-00 SP-02 L-01 DODE-00 /051 W
-----130957Z 051094 /12

R 130825Z APR 77
FM USMISSION NATO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2822
INFO AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 2123

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: NATO, PFOR, NAC
SUBJECT: NATO SUMMIT COMMUNIQUE

REF: (A) STATE 73372; (NOTAL); (B) USNATO 1987 (REPEATED TO
OTTAWA)

1. THERE FOLLOWS THE TEXT OF A LETTER CIRCULATED BY THE
CANADIAN DELEGATION CONTAINING EXTENSIVE SUGGESTIONS
FOR THE SUMMIT COMMUNIQUE. THESE SUGGESTIONS ARE DIFFERENT
IN THRUST AND DETAIL THAN THOSE WE HAVE SUBMITTED TO THE
INTERNATIONAL STAFF (PER REF A), AND ILLUSTRATE SOME OF THE
PROBLEMS WE MAY ENCOUNTER IN ACHIEVING STRONG PARAGRAPHS
ON DEFENSE AND ON HUMAN RIGHTS DURING THE FORTHCOMING SENIOR
POLITICAL COMMITTEE DRAFTING SESSIONS. THEY INDICATE AS WELL
STRONG CANADIAN INTEREST IN ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE SUMMIT, WHICH
WE SAW EARLIER IN THE CANADIAN PROPOSALS REPORTED REF B. AT
THE PRESENT STAGE, WE BELIEVE WE AN BEST ACHIEVE SUPPORT FOR
OUR APPROACH BY WORKING YHROUGH THE INTERNATIONAL STAFF.
HOWEVER, IF FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCES
WITH THE CANADIANS PERSIST, WE MAY REQUEST THE DEPARTMENT
TO ASK EMBASSY OTTAWA TO INTERVENE IN
SUPPORT OF COMMUNIQUE ELEMENTS OF IMPORTANCE TO THE
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US.

BEGIN TEXT:

RE: COMMUNIQUE FOR THE MINISTERIAL MEETING
MAY 10-11, 1977

THE FOLLOWING ARE THE COMMENTS OF MY AUTHORITIES
ON THE ORGANIZATION AND BASIC CONTENT OF THE COMMUNIQUE
IN REPOSE TO THE VERY HELPFUL OUTLINE PREPARED BY THE

INTERNATIONAL STAFF:

GENERAL COMMENT

IT IS ASSUMED THAT THIS MEETING OF THE COUNCIL WITH
PARTICIPATION OF HEADS' OF GOVERNMENT SHOULD BE USED TO
CONVEY A MESSAGE TO THE WARSAW PACT GENERALLY AND TO THE
SOVIET UNION IN PARTICULAR CONCERNING NATO'S INTENTION
IN IMPORTANT AREAS OF EAST/WEST RELATIONS ON THE EVE OF THE
BELGRADE CONFERENCE. HAVING IN MIND THE GENERAL AGREEMENT
THAT THE COMMUNIQUE SHOULD BE BRIEF AND DRAFTED IN TERMS
APPROPRIATE TO HEADS OF GOVERNMENT, IT IS FURTHER ASSUMED
THAT IN SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES WE SHOULD DWELL LESS, IF AT ALL,
ON ISSUES RELATED TO INTRA-ALLIANCE RELATIONSHIPS AND THE
FUNCTIONING OF NATO AS SUCH. IT IS THE CANADIAN VIEW THAT
IT WOULD BE PREFERABLE FOR SUCH MATTERS TO BE DEALT WITH
PRIMARILY IN THE DECEMBER COMMUNIQUES. IN ANY CASE, WITH
RESPECT TO THE FORTHCOMING MEETING, IT IS OTTAWA'S STRONG
PREFERENCE THAT THESE MATTERS NOT BE TREATED IN THIS
COMMUNIQUE IN A MANNER WHICH WOULD DETRACT FROM THE BASIC
MESSAGE BEING CONVEYED BY NATO AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 USNATO 2123

LIMDIS

SPECIFIC POINTS

BEGINNING WITH A REFERENCE TO THE LAST HEADS OF
GOVERNMENT MEETING TWO YEARS AGO AND THE NUMEROUS
DEVELOPMENTS WHICH HAVE BOTH IMPROVED THE PROSPECTS AND
INCREASED THE PERILS FOR MANKIND, WE THINK IT WOULD BE
APPROPRIATE FOR THE COMMUNIQUE TO ADDRESS THE FOLLOWING
POINTS:

(A) WITHOUT ANY DIRECT MENTION OF THE PROPOSED
DOWNING STREET DECLARATION, THERE SHOULD BE
SOME REFERENCE TO ITS SUBSTANCE WHICH, TO THE
EXTENT THIS SEEMED JUSTIFIED BY PRECEDING EVENTS,
WOULD HOPEFULLY LEAD TO SOME "UP BEAT" CONCLUSION
REGARDING THE STATE OF THE WORLD.

(B) ON EAST/WEST RELATIONS, THERE SHOULD BE SOME
REFERENCE TO DETENTE: ITS ESSENCE (I.E. OVER-
COMING OF DISTRUST AND INCREASING CONFIDENCE);
ITS LONG-TERM NATURE; ITS INDIVISIBILITY; THE
PRESSURES ON IT. NOTE SHOULD BE TAKEN THAT ALMOST
TWO YEARS HAVE ELAPSED SINCE THE SIGNATURE OF THE
HELSINKI FINAL ACT AND SOME INDICATION OF THE
ALLIANCE'S ASSESSMENT OF WHERE THE ACT HAS CARRIED
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US, CONCLUDING WITH SOME EXPRESSION OF HOPE FOR
FURTHER IMPETUS TO PROGRESS AT BELGRADE.

(C) AS SUGGESTED, THERE SHOULD BE AN EXPRESSION OF
CONCERN ABOUT THE RAPIDLY ESCALATING MILITARY
CAPABILITIES OF THE WARSAW PACT BUT WHICH, IN
OTTAWA'S VIEW, MIGHT BE LINKED IN GENERAL TERMS
TO EFFORTS BEING MADE BY (MOST) ALLIANCE MEMBERS
COLLECTIVELY IN MBFR NEGOTIATIONS, AND INDIVIDUALLY
IN SALT, TO ACHIEVE MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE CEILINGS;
WE AGREE ALSO THAT IN THIS CONTEXT AN EXPRESSION
OF DETERMINATION TO PURSUE A PROCESS TO REVERSE
THE COURSE OF THE ARMS RACE TOWARDS GENUINE
MUTUAL SECURITY WOULD BE APPROPRIATE.

(D) SOME REFERENCE MIGHT ALSO BE MADE RELATING
THE WHOLE DISARMAMENT ISSUE THE DEVELOPMENT OF
DETENTE (PERHAPS BY BORROWING LANGUAGE FROM THE
FINAL ACT) AND UNDERLINING THE IMPORTANCE ATTACHED
BY GOVERNMENTS TO THE 1978 UN SPECIAL SESSION ON
DISARMAMENT.

(E) ON HUMAN RIGHTS, WE WOULD FAVOUR CONSIDERATION
BEING GIVEN TO SENDING ONE SIMPLE SIGNAL TO THE
USSR TO THE EFFECT THAT NATO POWERS ARE NOT
ENGINEERING A CAMPAIGN TO PUT THE EASTERN EUROPEANS
ON THE DEFENSE AT BELGRADE NOR TRYING TO UNDERMINE
DETENTE.

BY INCORPORATING THESE ELEMENTS, IT IS THE VIEW
OF MY AUTHORITIES THAT, WHILE THE COMMUNIQUE WOULD NOT BE
BREAKING ANY RADICALLY NEW GROUND, IT WOULD BE RENDERED
MORE CLEARLY IDENTIFIABLE AS A SIGNAL TO THE EAST THAT
WE ARE REALLY SERIOUS ABOUT MAINTAINING MOVEMENT IN THE
DETENTE PROCESS AND THAT WE ARE SERIOUS ABOUT FORWARD
MOVEMENT ON DISARMAMENT.
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WITH RESPECT TO DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE, IF IT

IS INTENDED TO RAISE THIS ISSUE IN THE SAME TERMS AS
PROPOSED AT LAST DECEMBER'S COMMUNIQUE, MY AUTHORITIES
STILL FAIL TO UNDERSTAND WHAT PURPOSE THIS WOULD SERVE.
MOREOVER, THE UTILITY OF SUCH A REFERENCE WOULD SEEM
EVEN MORE QUESTIONABLE, GIVEN THAT THE DOWNING STREET
SUMMIT IS EXPECTED TO DEVOTE CONSIDERABLE TIME TO
DISCUSSING THE ISSUE OF ECONOMIC RELATIONS BETWEEN
DEVELOPED AND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, OF WHICH DEVELOPMENT
ASSISTANCE IS ONLY ONE ASPECT. WE WOULD ADD THAT THE
ISSUE WHICH CAUSED MUCH DISCUSSION AT THE LAST NATO
MEETING HAS NOT BEEN SUBSTANTIVELY EXAMINED SINCE LAST
DECEMBER, AS WAS PROPOSED AT THAT TIME. IT CONTINUES
TO BE THE VIEW OF MY AUTHORITIES THAT WE MUST FIRST
REFLECT FULLY AND SERIOUSLY BEFORE TAKING ANY ACTION
THAT MIGHT BE CONSTRUED AS PUTTING DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE
INTO AN EAST/WEST CONTEXT; PRESUMABLY AT THE LEVEL OF
COUNCIL STRUASZ-HUPE

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